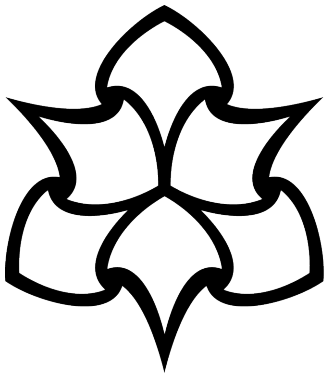

Pattern Making History and Theory: Draft

Chapter 12

RE-Make, RE-Model, RE-Define; *Fashioning A Nations Identity.*

For most of the twentieth Century, China has searched for cultural and national uniqueness as it negotiated the end of the longstanding imperial dynasty and responded to global, political and social volatility. A unified identity is the paradigm for both individuals and nations in their search for safe ground in disturbed times, and consecutive Chinese rulers or regimes, have engineered fashion or clothing to represent and symbolise order, national and bureaucratic codes, modernity, functionality, gender and cultural significance. [1] It would be an understatement to say that China has been through disturbed times in both its immediate past and it's more distant history. It continues to be a complicated, diverse and unique country with a contemporary population firmly rooted within its broader historical characteristics. It is a nation still attempting to define and contextualise its uniqueness within a national and global environment.

There is a compelling argument regarding the progressions of individual and/or collective dress in China. Dress practices have represented generative and thenceforth re-generative stylistic norms by being cyclically dismissive of existing sartorial conventions, and in doing so, formatively and radically remaking, redefining and remodelling the nation's identity. This chapter considers how in the late 1950s patternmaking and the individual hand crafting of clothing developed in China and

became the necessary method of constructing garments for the majority of the population.

The context of this was in direct response to political doctrine, inadequate resources and previous interventions surrounding dress reform, modernization, westernization and the recognition of clothing as not only cultural capital but as a characteristic of social standing and a representation of external influences. In order to support and inform mass individual garment construction, the Communist Party sponsored publications which acted as instructional guides on remaking garments from existing clothes as well as economizing on fabric usage. The publications illustrate stylistically acceptable modes of dress and align the content and audience with the prevailing political landscape. This particular period bookends a complex and long historic narrative of regulation, craft and symbolism and is a reflection of the socio-economic temper of China as a nation during the early years of Communist rule.

There have been extensive research projects, exhibitions, publications and commentaries regarding the history of Chinese dress.[2] What is relevant to this chapter is the cut and silhouette of traditional Chinese garments and how western design and tailoring techniques ultimately came to inform urban clothing styles. This western influence impacted dress of the late Qing dynasty and supported the modernization of dress codes in China under a new Nationalist government after the 1911 revolution. The modernization of dress in China could be interpreted as the westernization of China and undoubtedly dress styles were influenced by large influxes of western inhabitants who brought access to international media, global information, trade and manufacturing. As China came under Communist rule post 1949, capitalist doctrines and practices were renounced and many newly developed and adopted clothing styles

were abandoned. These western styles were representative of previous political and moral excesses and conflicted with the philosophies of Mao's New China and the population's desire to associate, through clothing, with the new regime's sartorial icons and culturally significant heroes and heroines.

Edicts, Status, Fabrication and Cut.

In order to understand the significance of the dress practices of the late 1950s, it is important to understand the traditional dress practices that were interpreted and reworked over a significant timeline. As early as the founding of the Ming Dynasty by Zhu Yuanzhang in 1368, Chinese authorities imposed a system of clothing regulations on its court and on its population in order to create a well-defined social hierarchy, which not only regulated an individual's activities, but established a stable society under the close control of the state.[3] These regulations instituted a system of classifications for the duration of the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1644, which reflected on and restored earlier Chinese rules of dress including Han style Dragon robes as conventional wear for noblemen and officials. [4] Image-based insignia of birds and animals represented nine specific levels of standing within the court bureaucracy, with birds representing civil officials whilst animals represented military standing.[5] Centuries later, when China came under the rule of the Manchus in 1644 and the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) was initiated under the Emporer Kang Hsi, further adoptions and refinements surrounding attire were constituted and an official document entitled the *Chin Ting Ta Ching Hui* was produced in 1694. [6] This extensive and detailed manuscript not only defined the ceremonial laws and procedures of the Qing Dynasty but specified initial edicts regarding individual grades of costumes that could be worn in the Imperial court, as part of a demarcated hierarchy. For men, the

Manchu robes that were identified as being representative of the new ruling class were not a radical departure from the existing garments worn by the Han majority population during the Ming dynasty. They were however less volumous and incorporated details such as front and back vents rising vertically from the hem, and a curved over-lapping, right front opening and fastening, which clearly reflected on the Manchu legacy and heritage as nomadic horseman.[7]

Hierarchical organizational structures continuously adhered to the symbolism of, and association with, the eminent leaders within a bureaucracy, so it is difficult to distinguish differing male styles of the Qing period as they increasingly dressed alike. However, Manchu and Han Chinese women, although borrowing styles from each other, wore markedly differing styles of dress. In simplistic terms the Manchu women wore a long robe with a curving front side fastening whilst the Han Chinese wore a three-quarter length robe similar to a jacket with a pleated skirt and trouser underneath. Final specificity surrounding the regulations pertaining to Manchu dress were published in the most significant document of the period entitled *The Illustrated Regulations for the Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Court. (Huangchao liqi tushi)* commissioned in 1748, and completed in 1759. [8]

The consequence of this publication and its subsequent elaborations and distinctions regarding wardrobe, to this particular scholarly narrative, is timeline and cultural endurance. The cut of the robes, identified within the *Illustrated Regulations* ostensibly remained in place, albeit with some nuances, until the dawn of the twentieth century. In terms of patternmaking and tailoring, the emphasis throughout this early period of Chinese dress was on decoration and ornamentation, as hierarchical position constituted superior garment elaboration and fabrication

techniques. Among the garments that endured across this 200 year span, the most formal of the robes, the *Chaofu*, which had a kimono style upper body with long, close-fitting sleeves that terminated in a "horsehoof" shaped cuff and a closely fitted neckband, over which was worn a detached collar distinguished by wing-like tips that extended over the shoulders. [9] The "horseshoe" cuff was designed to reflect upon the Manchu riding heritage and represented protection of the fingers when on horseback. The lower section of the garment, attached to a set-in waistband, was a full, pleated or gathered skirt.

The *Jifu*, or "dragon robes" (*longpao*) bore direct relation to the Ming dynasty version. The Dragon robes became the semi-formal robes worn by the scholar-officials during the Qing dynasty. The robes were full-length, cut loose in an "A" shaped pattern with no shoulder seams. Male robes had slits on the bottom of the front, back and sides to facilitate riding with a side front opening consisting of two overlapping parts secured with fabric loops, and textile or metal buttons. The hem of the *Jifu* cleared the ground to permit easy walking and the extra side slits were the only feature that distinguished the *Jifu* of men below the rank of emperor from the Jifu of their wives. All were elaborately patterned against an immensely complex set of regulations, but it is the consistency of the shape and its future, albeit minor chronological and morphological development which becomes synonymous with both ancient and modern Chinese dress. The *Changpao*, a garment for informal activities, which was sometimes worn with a riding-style shorter jacket named a Magua, was a plain, long robe worn by all classes. The men's was cut in the style of the *Jifu*, usually made of loom widths of monochrome patterned fabric whilst the female version had wide, loose sleeves edged with especially designed decorative sleeve bands. Existing examples of untailored dragon's robes show the width of the bolts of

silk lengths to be generally consistent and to be constrained by the width of the loom that they were woven on. [10].

These examples show that the selvages, or finished side edges, of the silk are located at the center front or center back of the garment and at the end of the connected sleeve head. The sleeves are not attached to the body in the shoulder area, but the upper part of the sleeves were cut in one piece with the body in a "T" shaped orientation. This cutting style removes the requirement for a shoulder seam and allows the garment to be folded along the shoulder line. The side seams, which narrow at the top of the body, give the loosely shaped 'A' silhouette whilst the lengths have already been attached along the central front and back selvages in order that the embroidery can be completed over the seam joins. [11]

This shape and cut will feature as a significant resource, as it is re-visited in the mid twentieth century, when versions of the style are opened up and re-cut in line with the conventions of the time. This is possible, due to the fact that there are no fit elements, such as darts or fitted sleeves, to these garments, all the constructions rely on square shapes, wrapped fastenings and some pleating.

In contrast to the Chinese pattern making techniques

seventeenth century European tailors were beginning to articulate the concepts of fit, cut and construction through publications that included methods of technical instruction and patternmaking guidance. Juan de Alcegas, book of the practice of tailoring, measuring and marking-out (1580) (Libro de geometria practica y traca) is one of the earliest surviving publication regarding patterns and their purpose. Alcegas' defined goal was to instruct tailors to cut pattern pieces that were economically efficient.[12] Frugality remains a consistent theme within this chapter,

irrespective of location, cultural differences or political persuasion. Other tailors produced further publications both in Spanish and in French but the first English language publication was *The Tailor's Complete Guide,* devised by the Society of Adepts and produced in 1769, only ten years after the dissemination of the *Illustrated Regulations for the Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Court*.[13] The English publication was considered rudimentary by later scholars and lacking in accurate measuring systems, as it relied on the "rock of eye" method of cutting, whilst the Chinese publication outlined a distinctive and authoritative visual narrative of the Chinese court and its codified costume.[14] Notwithstanding this, there is clear documentary evidence of parallel sartorial systems, which were destined to collide as the industrialisation and globalization of the world was embraced by some nations and imposed by others. China, throughout the Qing dynasty, continued to maintain its values and symbolism through dress but was, by the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, becoming more aware of the external factors about to challenge its cultural identity and propagate the onset of modernism.[15]

Modernization, Westernization and the Breaking of Traditions.

As already noted there was a significant timeline of stylistic continuity, in terms of Chinese dress, particularly with respect to the layering, cut and silhouette of garments. External western influences upon clothing in China was initially benign, but the presence of westerners through trade would have at least fostered discussion and debate, amongst the Chinese elite. Foreigners would most certainly have been viewed as figures of curiosity, who approached garments and the cut of clothing from a radically contrastive position. Through trading, eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe embraced *chinoiserie*. The Brighton Royal Pavilion, built by King

George III, and completed in 1808, is a particularly ostentatious example of this impulse in architecture. Conversely '*Europerie*' influenced China, as European goods were prized and European architects were commissioned by Emperor Qian Long to create baroque pavilions in the Summer Palace, just North of Beijing.[16] However, these initial interactions and cross cultural acceptances of the creative arts could be considered as nothing more than a somewhat superficial Eastern and Western fascination with the exotic and the new.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century when, under the guise of trade, cultures truly clashed and foreign powers began to exploit, dominate and assume a role as cultural influencers in China. In 1842, at the conclusion of the first Opium war of 1840, foreign expansion into China began in earnest. The first ports were opened up through a treaty system which established the principle of extra-territoriality and granted Britain "most favoured status" as a trading partner.[17] Pressure from America, France and ultimately Japan to engage with the treaty port system meant that the foundation's had been located for the multinational penetration of China. [18] Indeed, Chinese commentators themselves recognise 1840 as marking the beginning of the nation's modern history.[19] Initially the foreign nations ambition was to open-up the huge Chinese nation for trading purposes, however as post-industrial nations, they were more militarily powerful than China and arrogant enough to resent any opposition who challenged their modernized and financially driven view of the world. Conversely Chinese intellectuals and conservatives from the scholar officials, rooted in a history of heritage believed that as often happened in Chinese history any reforms could be managed successfully through the restoration of Confucian values and institutions. [20] Clearly they underestimated not only the complexity of the foreign aggression and its far reaching potential impact on China, as a series of uprisings and

military actions cemented foreign enclaves, improved and extended the scope of the treaties and enforced what was effectively a semi-colonial environment.[21] By the latter half of the nineteenth century greater accessibility to port locations such as Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou (and as part of the extra-territorialized areas defined within the treaty ports system), facilitated the development of foreign communities, leading to multi-faceted topographical characteristics. For example, by the early twentieth century the city of Tianjin included a local Chinese-administered city, Tianjin had nine foreign concessions or areas, with differing administrations and newly constructed architecture, each of which reflected the lifestyle of individual countries of origin. Within the immigrant communities service industries developed. Importantly this included tailoring services to satisfy the *émigrés* stylistic needs. Invariably the foreign tailors hired local Chinese as apprentices or workers and taught them the techniques of western cutting and patternmaking.[22]

The local Chinese tailoring practices that made the traditional robes and jackets were known as the Ben Bang Tailors whilst the new foreign-trained tailors who also learnt the craft of repair for western–style garments became known as Hong Bang Tailors.[23] The Hong Bang tailors were introduced to darts and cutting lines and the concept of modelling on a stand, which must have been revolutionary concepts as a contrast to the flat square shapes, devoid of fit, which constituted the construction methods of the Qing styles.[24] The Chinese elite, like the population in general, were unsure of how to respond to the foreign pressures and the influx of foreign communities with radically different dress codes. The Chinese viewed themselves as a highly developed and an intellectual civilization with a supreme authority in the form of the Emperor, but its survival therefore, as a socio-political entity and even as an independent state, was in the balance. China's predicament worsened through its inability to repulse military or

political incursions and further ‘unequal treaties’ were defined by foreign nations. Anti-traditionalism, which dismissed China’s cultural heritage and embraced westernization became a notion with the Chinese modernizing elite, and would contribute alongside foreign aggression to the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 and the establishment of a Republic by Sun Zhongsan (Dr SunYat-Sen) and his revolutionaries.[25]

Significantly when Sun Zhongsan presided over the official ceremony to launch the provisional Republic on January 1 1912, Western style frock coats and top hats were the outfits of choice for the guests, denoting that the previous sartorial extravagance of imperial costume amongst a ruling elite had been quickly dismissed and superseded. In the initial years of the twentieth century leading up to the 1911 revolution, Chinese urban populations dress styles for both men and women had gradually become neater and more streamlined. Sanctioned by the imperial government in 1902 the Chinese military was re-imagined and modernised stylistically under German and Japanese guidance and inadvertently became the vanguard of vestimentary change. [26] Military schools became prominent when the old examination system was abolished and new curricula, including physical education, meant there was no place for the traditional long robe as school uniforms became directly modelled on military uniforms. Men’s styles began to follow the global trend for greater simplicity and sobriety with a trimmer fit and although westerns suits on non-westerners were rare at the outset, western hats became prominent and popular fashion accessories. For women the cut of clothes also shifted from wide to narrow, colours changed to darker more restrained tones and high collars emerged as a feature in both men’s and women’s design as a symbiosis of the relationship between military and civil dress.[27] The rise of the collar is attributed to the years after the new military

schools gained popularity and men in uniform gained ‘handsome’ status by Chinese women.[28] Ultimately after centuries of no collars on garments, the stand-up collar became a definitive visual statement of self-representation and national identity across future political and cultural environments for both men and women in China. With the onset of the new republic came a confusing transitional period in China as its population shifted its role from Imperial subjects to nations citizens. The Republican Senate issued edicts in 1912, within an illustrated regulatory booklet, which ironically offers comparisons with the 1759 *Illustrated Regulations for the Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Imperial Court* in that it specified in some detail, official formal attire and the expectations on the appearance of the new male Republican leaders, officals and administrators. The regulations defined a set of dress codes appropriate for a modern government and although from some of the illustrations there appears to be some experimentation with a new hybrid style of garment where the design takes reference from both western and eastern styles, the reality is such that the Senate accepted that the adoption of western formal wear would align the new republic globally and situate its leaders as conforming to international standards of dress.[29]

This Alignment with western dress included the western frock coat and trousers with top hat for high formal wear and either a western style suit with bowler hat or Homberg or traditional style *Changpao* and *Magua* jacket with a bowler hat or homburg for formal day wear. The *Changpao* and the *Magua* retained the cut and length of previous traditional Chinese garments although there were new stipulations surrounding fabrication and colour of either styles. Black for formal wear shades of grey and blue for men’s daily wear. The illustrated regulations went as far as describing shoe styles, to be worn with respective outfits. The western style suit would eventually become prominent within urban society as it acted as a leveller not

only for its functionality but also for its association with new values and modernization.[30]

There was a perception amongst the Chinese population and amongst commentators of the time that modernisation meant westernisation and despite the apparent need in the post imperial period to understand, explore and apply western ideas of the state, law and democracy to China, Chinese Confucian traditions embedded within the culture for many centuries proved incredibly resilient and more flexible than it had first appeared. Chinese tradition was therefore not totally removed stylistically and there would be an appetite within the populace for creativity in clothing across genders, that would help to re-define how China was represented culturally and globally through the development of new and uniquely Chinese vetementary styles.

Sun Zhongsan (Sun Yat-Sen) the provisional president had been photographed in a variety of styles ranging from full Prussian military plumage, to military uniforms and western lounge suits, but it was in 1920, as part of the creation of the Guomingdang (Nationalist) party, that he first appeared in the Zhongsan Zhuang (Sun Yat Sen suit), which captured the spirit of revolution and redefined Chinese style for men. The suit is believed to be based on a Japanese military uniform, possibly a Meiji period student uniform, (Japanese school uniform based on sailor's outfits) and a western tailored suit. This became a significant garment, was worn as official dress for civil servants, and was worn and modified by intellectuals as a clear statement of a break from the previous autocratic imperial regime. Undoubtedly Mao and the fledgling communist party of the early twenties would have worn the garment and his later modifications would, in turn, become China's national dress and be pseudonymous with Mao and the Communist Party itself.

The new republic had specific dress codes for men and only one form of dress was specified for women. This was a basic embroidered jacket and skirt and to all intents and purposes was a continuation of the Han style. The Republican period was however characterised by greater freedom of expression for women and they were able to pursue education and employment and many urban citizens seized that opportunity. The emancipation of dress for women, in line with these greater freedoms, was to be even more radical than the men and came in the shape of a dress known as a Qipao which is also known as the Cheongsam.[31]

Qipao in Mandarin translates as banner dress, due to its resemblance to a square cut hanging banner, so it could have its origination in the long Manchu style robes with the curved opening on the right side of the garment. The Cheongsam in Cantonese translates as 'long gown' and alternatively the garment could have been developed from the male *Changpao* whilst its high collar almost certainly echoed military styles. The Hong Bang tailors who were initially constructing the garments with their new-found western pattern cutting techniques would almost certainly have understood that darts would contribute to the reduction of volume between the hip and the waist. The darts and cutting lines would give the pattern a more body conscious and feminine manifestation. The abolition of foot binding in 1911 and breast binding in 1928 ensured the Qipao very quickly became women's standard wear. Not only was the Qipao distinctively Chinese and imbued with a new social narrative of personal mobility, of femaleness and of modernism (through new fabrication and shape) but, it reflected the transformation of women's bodies.[32]

Much of the urban populations had embraced or accepted change; some of the port cities had thrived as commercial centers attracting rural urban immigrants as

opportunities for both trade and work developed. Shanghai became the most prominent port and by 1920 was the sixth busiest in the world, and arguably one of the most decadent. The most successful ports were not only gateways to China but became trade and manufacturing hubs as well as locations for large numbers of entrepreneurial Chinese who embraced capitalism.[33] The end of the Imperial dynastic period, the influence of western nations through semi-colonialism and the birth of the new Republic may well have given China a distinct legacy surrounding clothing and dress, in terms of cut, silhouette, representation, socio-cultural relevance and positioning within global communities. It did not however bring stability instead it ushered in a series of conflicts which tore China apart. Regional centres led by Warlords competed for power, WWI was a catalyst to the foreign powers to relinquish their claims to Chinese ports and territories as well as instigating mass anti-foreign protests.[34] The anti-communist campaign of 1929-33, the anti-Japanese war 1937-45 and the civil war 1946-49 all meant that, as 1949 came to a close, a new revolutionary party, the Communists, came to power. For the majority of the population this was a huge relief after more than 30 years of conflict and invasion. Mao Tse Tung the new leader had connected with the populace and he was more than aware of the power of dress and identity as a representation of a nation and a political paradigm.

Identity, Economy & Practicality.

"After 1949 our production of fabrics and silks increased considerably as did the quality of life and expectations of the people. Increased production of fabric however is not enough alone to meet the people's needs. We should therefore not just increase production to meet demand but look at how we can use and save fabric. One of the important and practical ways

to increase fabric saving is to change old clothes into new clothes. It seems such a waste that there are so many large mountains of old clothes that are stored in cases and homes so if we could change old clothes into new clothes we could meaningfully save large amounts of goods (raw materials) for the country and also save spending on fabric."

This is a section of the introductory statement from a patternmaking and clothing construction publication from October 1957 entitled 'New Clothes from Old Clothes'. It was produced by The Shanghai Cultural Department in conjunction with the Shanghai Government Group (Apparel) showing practical examples of how to re-work and re-model existing garments. The main introduction not only defines the context of the publication but also describes two fashion events in early and mid 1957, held in Shanghai, which introduced the public to the concept of reconstructing, or in contemporary terms upcycling, old clothes into new clothes. The final selection of designs included within the instruction manual are cited as being inspired by the most popular garments displayed within the events. In line with the final designs the Shanghai Government Group produced paper patterns, which could be purchased individually by the public and which related directly to the construction techniques defined within the publication.

Figure 1

The introductory statement also poses a number of pertinent questions with regards to: the lack of raw materials for clothing production, a failure by the fledgling government to meet the basic needs and expectations of its growing population, and the excessive number of used garments now considered redundant both stylistically and politically.

Significantly the front cover of the publication portrays a character that seems markedly unfamiliar to the general western perceptions of Chinas language of dress during the 1950's. The key image of the woman and the surrounding illustrations are embedded with layers of conflicting narratives. The main image recognises and positions a well-manicured, sophisticated, educated, urban inhabitant which suggests a deliberate message from the publishers of the acceptance of a certain notion of 'style' and of an urbanised population positioned within an accepted, political paradigm. This image does however seem to conflict with the realities of the time and certainly the early years of the regime when after fighting a civil war, with an army constructed mainly from the peasantry, the Communist Party began to construct and manage a new society. With a population of 600 million and a philosophy of utopianism, implemented from a centralised control system, the new and inexperienced regime was destined to encounter difficulties.[35] Poor crops in the mid-fifties, workers unrest in the form of strikes opposed to pay reductions, and lessening support from the USSR meant that the initial seeds of growth post-1949 had by 1956 largely failed. Food shortages grew due to climate, poor distribution and resistance to the collectives' farm system, whilst factories were unable to meet their targets and construction work slowed. [36] Sartorially the population had neither the finance, resources nor the desire to deviate from the expectations of a party philosophy which rejected the past and who's leader Mao, was both anti-western and anti- imperialist. This image taken in 1930 of the Yu family in Beijing, captures a range of styles that would been rejected by socialist doctrine as they contained the remnants of Qing dress styles (re-fashioned to be acceptable by the Republican senate), alongside western styles of formal and casual wear. It is these styles that likely would have populated

the ‘mountains of old clothes,’ identified in the publication, that would be suitable for re-purposing.

Figure 2

The younger women at the rear all sport versions of the high-collared Qipao as well as fashionable bobbed style haircuts of the time, whilst the more elderly women in the foreground, are wearing the early versions of the Qipao which had a much wider cut and based more specifically on the banner dress. The majority of the men are in *Changpao* and *Magua* jackets with only one male, in a western three-piece suit.[37] Testament to the fact that the population continued to wear clothing that identified culturally with China’s stylistic heritage, particularly eminent families such as the one pictured.

Although The communist party rejected previous styles of dress, unlike both the Imperial dynasty and the Republican Senate, they did not issue edicts regarding appropriate types of clothing that defined association or social standing within the regime. They did however develop a complex system of visual coding which was delivered and continually reinforced to the population, through posters, the media novels, play and films. This method of disseminating information had been established by the Soviets who used artistic representations of muscular state heroes and radiant heroines as powerful propaganda.[38] The communist party used similar methods of visualization (which was important, considering much of the population was still illiterate) to reinforce political doctrine and define dress within a new sartorial landscape that shifted the emphasis from the individual to the collective.

Collectively men abandoned western styles and sought association with cultural and military heroes and political leaders. Mao had modified the *Zhongsan Zhuang* (the SunYat Sen suit) and appropriated it to symbolise the new China, whilst the civilian cadres (officials), workers and technicians readily accepted the *Zhifu,* which was a version of the military jacket, except made of dark blue cloth. Grey versions were worn by administrative staff who had slightly higher status within the ruling systems.[39] Many women also donned the same or similar garments to the men and patriotic dress became not only utilitarian and practical but represented clothes for the masses whilst being ideologically symbolic.

Information regarding specifics around clothing during this period of Chinese history remains somewhat scant however individual narratives from the period illustrate in some detail the broader collectivization of clothing, responses to visual codification and a clear understanding of the role of the handmade in the production of garments.

Yuming Lu living at the time in Shanghai, when interviewed regarding his relationship to clothing, recalls that he did not particularly care what he dressed in, he just wanted to look the same as everyone else, as to differentiate himself, through his clothing or hairstyle would bring trouble upon himself.[40] Trouble meaning to stand out , to be individual and therefore to be noticed by the authorities.
Zhao BaoXun a Beijing resident in the late 1950's when asked about how clothing was procured during this period recalls how popular the *Zhifu* and the *Zhongsan Zhuang* were, as they represented new China and bore resemblance to the revolutionary military uniform. He also recollected that the actual military uniforms were the most prized to own, but were difficult to acquire if you were not in the army,

nevertheless if you could get second hand military buttons then that would finish off the homemade jacket more stylishly.[41]

Figure 3

The most significant garment for men of this period was the *Zhongsam Zhuang* and the book (Figure 3) gives clear instruction on how to construct one through deconstructing a *Changpao,* by opening up the side seams and laying the garment fully flat to accommodate the newly purchased pattern pieces. With no shoulder seams there is the length within the deconstructed garment to allow for a pants pattern to fit readily through the body section, whilst the wrap opening provides the fabric for the two-piece sleeve pattern. The information in the upper left hand box of the page contains the length, waist and sleeve length measurements of the *Changpao,* whilst the lower box contains the measurements for the length of the jacket, the jacket waist and jacket sleeves measurements as well as the length of the pants, the pants waist measurement and the distance around the hem of the pants. Further information in the main box identifies and names the pattern pieces and information around fixing holes or previous button areas in advance. Within the booklet there are clear instructional guides which apply to all the styles in terms of general information and cautions. These include detailed information on a range of processes required, including for example on how to unpick the existing garments and to press (iron) them flat before placing the pattern pieces. If there was deviation from these military rooted styles this occurred within womenswear. Femininity was still essentially abandoned as women embraced the basic shirt and trouser ensemble or 'peoples dress' and initially adopted

the Soviet style Lenin suit, which represented solidarity for Chinas Soviet allies and empathy for the spirit of revolution. As the Soviet influence diminished in China, by the time of this particular publication female versions of the *Zhongsam Zhuang* and *Zhifu* worn by male cadres (officials) were developed. A number of these styles are identified within the patterns and clarify this stylistic evolution.

Figure 4

The Liang Yong Shan jacket which translates as the two-function top illustrated in Figure 4 is a female version of the Zhangsam Zhuang. The collar pattern is turned down and the breast pockets, common in the mens' version are removed to make the fit more suitable for the female body. The two-functions refers to the design being both suitable as a light coat for summer or as a layer underneath heavier jackets in winter. The garment itself uses astute reconstruction techniques from a previous western style, the male suit jacket. This includes incorporating the original pocket and fit lines into the design with no deconstruction required, and clever fit through a style line across the top of the bust. The smaller cut of the women's jacket allows the center front button holes to be missed and the internal jacket facings to be utilised. From the early 1950's western suits were viewed as remnants from the old society and associated with capitalism and foreign intervention. They were often re-modelled into Zhifu style uniforms, which were inexpensive to re-construct as labour was cheap and stylistically they were recognisable as a mark of a progressive state employee who followed the sartorial model set by Chairman Mao himself.[42]

Figure 5

Figure 5 gives clear instruction on how to deconstruct a *Qipao* and to re make into, what is described as a light convenient casual top. For this particular pattern there is not enough fabric and the extra pieces are required from other sources, again this is noted in the instructions within the page. Many garments during this period were patched or constructed from more than one fabric so this would not have been seen as unusual.

Surprisingly in the publication there are also instructions on how to construct a *Qipao* from a mans' *Changpao*. The instructions indicate that from a *Changpao*, a long sleeve or short sleeved *Qipao* can be fashioned as well as a pair of pants, but only if the person creating the garments, for their own use, is small in stature. The Qipao was however out of fashion by the majority by the time this publication was produced so it is unlikely that this style of garment would have been re made from other garments.

This publication could be considered as part of a broader political to address the issue of clothing its population by encouraging the population to engage with the art of construction. There are ninety one styles identified each cleverly cut to maximise fabric usage, previous styles of garments, fit and shape lines and details. There are garments for men, women and children constructed from patterns that have been developed with expertise and would seem to be responding to earlier appeals from both the Government and the population itself to improve its sartorial representation, particularly with respect to its urban populations.An attempt to address the drabness of the nation by the Ministry of Culture, through the short lived Dress Reform

campaign of 1955-56 which included the development of new garment styles and textiles prints that were featured in fashion shows and in the media and may well have positioned clothing, albeit briefly, on the social agenda. [43] There was certainly some interest from the public in the major urban conurbations as Fashion shows displayed new styles and fabrics and this method of engaging the public in the development of new styles may well have been the pre cursor to the patternmaking book identified here.[44]. It could be argued that these events and subsequent publications, are solely a pragmatic exercise in re-using existing materials and reinforcing frugality. Or, bearing in mind the powerful propaganda messages delivered across a range of media activities, the government could have been opening up a broader debate around national identity, self-perception and socio-cultural association. The development of the these garments may well have been inspired by the Dress Reform Campaign, the events and consequent publication is framed within the same timeline,1956-57 of the Hundred Flowers Movement may well have been a contributory factor also. [45] Inevitably though, the tightening of government control and the purging of individual ideas after the Hundred Flowers movement alongside disastrous policies such as the Great Leap Forward, contrived to ensure that whatever ideas had been formulated around dress in relation to visually re-affirming the success of the Communist Party's doctrine as a symbolic and representational illustration of a global power were decimated. [46] As a result of poor management, ineffective policies, famine and the lack of resources on a gargantuan scale by 1960, sustaining a large population with its basic needs, including clothing became an impossibility.

Frugality and rationing had been put in place in the mid 1950's and by the end of the decade covered the majority of products including shoes and fabrics, so in order to clothe themselves the population had no choice to revert to making. Shuzhen Zhang

from Shanghai recalls working together with her local community in Shanghai, to share knitting and making techniques, as well as paper patterns for making shoes which became a common practice. She also recalls sharing annual ration coupons for fabric, normally 4 and a half feet per person, with neighbours, dependant on individual family's needs. [47]Propaganda in the form of posters, the media and further pattern making publications remained vibrant internally throughout this period in China but externally the country began to retract behind its borders as internal politics and desperate living conditions led to the chaos of the Cultural Revolution. Clothing and dress remained low on individuals needs and garments were continually patched, re-cycled and home constructed as a matter of necessity until the late 1970's after the death of Mao and China engaged with an outward facing global 'opening up' policy.

[11] Werner Meissner, « China's Search for Cultural and National Identity from the Nineteenth Century to the Present », *China Perspectives*, 68 | 2006, 41-54.
[2] Verity Wilson , Chinese dress, V& A publication 1990

[3] YUAN Zujie, *Dressing for power: Rite, costume, and state authority in Ming Dynasty China.* (Higher Education Press and Springer-Verlag 2007) 182-185

[4]Steele, V & Major, J *Decoding Dragons:Clothing and Chines Identity* (China Chic East Meets West, Yale University Press,1999) 28-34
[5] R.L.Thorp, *Son of Heaven, Imperial Arts of China* (Exhibition Catalogue 1988)82-86
[6] IBid
[7] Steele, V & Major, J *Decoding Dragons:Clothing and Chines Identity* (China Chic East Meets West, Yale University Press,1999) 28-34
[8] *Medley*. *Margaret*. The "*Illustrated Regulations* for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Ch'ing [Qing] Dynasty. " London: Han-Shan Tan, 1982. Reprinted from Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society 31 (1958-1959): 95-104.
[9] Verity Wilson, *Chinese dress*, (V& A publication 1990) Dragon robe illustration of construction method 19
[10] The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has a collection of un-tailored dragon robes. These show the final lengths of fabrics known as bolts and the consistent width of the fabric in relation to the loom which wove the fabric
[11] Ibid 20,21. Verity Wilson , *Chinese dress*, (V& A publication 1990)
[12] Joy Spanabel Emery, *A History of the Paper Pattern Industry,* (Bloomsbury) 5
[13] Ibid 6-8
[14] Rock of eye is the freehand method of mentally calculating a drafting formula using a measure and chalk, it relies on experience with pattern shapes and dimensions .
[15] A.C. Scott, *Chinese Costume in Transition (*Donald Moore, Singapore 1958)7,21,22
[16] Identified in a Copperplate engraving of a European Pavilion at the Garden of Perfect Clarity in Yuanmingyuan, Beijing, China, after drawings by Yi Lantai, 1781–6. Victoria and Albert Museum, Museum no. 29452
[17] Catherine Ladds. *China and Treaty-port Imperialism* (the Encyclopedia of Empire 2016 Wiley Publications)1-6
[18] IBID
[19] Antonio Finnane, *Changing clothes in China, Fashion, History, Nation* (Hurst 2007)64
[20] Wen-hui Tsai *From Tradition to Modernity: A Socio-historical interpretation on chinas struggle toward modernization since the mid 19th century* (Occasional Papers/reprint series in Contemporary Asian studies 1986) 19-21
[21] Goodman B, Goodman D (EDS) Twentieth Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday and the world(Abingdon, Routledge 2012) 3-9
[22] Christine Tsui, China Fashion, *Conversations with Designers* (Berg 2009) 3
[23] Hong bang tailors is thought to be derived from foreign customers mainly Dutch who had a reddish colored hair, Hong is Chinese for red. Bang is for group meaning tailors in this case.
[24] Darts allow fit into garments based on pattern pieces which accommodate and reflect body shapes. These are modelled as today on stands or dress forms.
[25] Wen-hui Tsai *From Tradition to Modernity: A Socio-historical interpretation on chinas struggle toward modernization since the mid 19th century* (Occasional Papers/reprint series in Contemporary Asian studies 1986) 19-21
[26] Antonio Finnane, Changing Clothes in China, Fashion History, Nation(Hurst 2007)71-93

[27] IBID
[28] IBID
[29] Liao Jun, Xu Xing, *Zhong Guo Fu Shi Bai Nian (translated:100 years of Chinese Costume,* Shanghai Cultural Publishing 2009.) 80-85
[30] Zhao Li, Liu Rui Pu, *Min Guo Chu Nian Ban Bu De Fu Zhi Kao Lun* (translated: The study of early nationalist clothing regulations, Academic Fashion Guide, 2016) 25-31.
[31] The Qipao is the Mandarin Chinese translation whilst the Cheongsam is the Cantonese pronunciation.
[32] Wessie Ling, *Chinese Modernity, Identity and Nationalism:The Qipao in Rebulican China.*(from Fashions: Exploring Fashion through Cultures, Inter-Disciplinary Press,Oxford, 2012)79-89
[33] Catherine Ladds China and Treaty Port Imperialism (the Encyclopedia of Empire 2016 Wiley Publications)5
[34] The decade of 1919-28 saw mass protests beginning with the May Fourth movement as a reaction against the governments weak response to Chinas treatment in the treaty of Versailles which allowed German and Japan to retain control of land in Shandong.
[35] Jonathan Fenby. *The History of Modern China, The Fall and Rise of a great power 1850-2008* (Penguin 2008) 351.
[36] Ibid 383-386
[37] David Kidd, *Peking Story: The Last Days of Old China* (New York Review Books Classics), 2003. The book recalls the story of the family pictured. David Kidd married the woman fifth from the left on the back row. The grandmother of this authors wife is pictured on the back row fourth from the left.

[38] Verity Wilson, *Dress and the Cultural Revolution* (from; China Chic; East meets West, V. Steele & J.S Major, Yale University Press 1999) 172-178
[39] A.C.Scott*, Chinese Costume in Transition* (Donald Moore Publications 1958) 94-97
[40] Yuming Lu interviewed by the author about his early recollections of life in Shanghai in the 1950's and 1960's, December 2017
[41] Zhao Yan interviewed by the author about his early recollections of life in Beijing in the 1950's and 1960's, January 2018
[42] Sang Ye, *From Rags to Revolution: Behind the seams of of social change,* (from Evolution and Revolution, Chinese dress1700s-1900s, Powerhouse Publishing 1997)46-47
[43] Antonio Finnane, Changing clothes in China, Fashion, History, Nation(Hurst 2007) Excellent investigation of the dress reform campaign. The dress reform campaign was a government initiative supporting the development of new fashions and the textile industry to modernise clothing in China. This included fashion shows and the development of products to develop sartorial change.
[44] The People's Daily of 31/03/1956 announces the exhibition saying,
"Fashion Exhibition opens today, there will be 535 pieces of clothing exhibited for men, women's and children and for Spring Summer and Autumn seasons. There will also be a variety of new design of flower (printed) cotton fabric, silk and wool. Already 83,000 people have registered to visit the show."

[45] "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" and "Let a Hundred schools of thought contend" were the declarations from Chairman Mao in May 1956. The Hundred Flowers movement as it became known as was initially intended to give the population both an opinion and a voice in the development of China however it was later seen as a trap to ensnare so-called rightist dissidents who in reality did not fully agree with Maos doctrine.

[46] The Great Leap Forward was a campaign to develop industrialization and agriculture in China by labour intensive methods including communes and small scale production units through mass mobilisation between 1958 and 1960. Poor management, lack of expertise and drought led to 20 million people dying of starvation.
[47] Interview between Shuzhen Zhang and the author around clothing and community in Shanghai. January 2018